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Pursuant to [illegible] I have the honour to request that [illegible] be circulated as a [illegible] document.

(Signed) [illegible]
[illegible]
Permanent Representative of [illegible]

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Translated from Spanish

PERMANENT MISSION OF CUBA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

No. 441

1 October 1962

Your Excellency,

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba I have the honour to inform you that the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, meeting in extraordinary session to note and examine the joint resolution of the United States Congress, has agreed to issue the following statement:

"In an international situation fraught with dramatic tensions, Cuba confronts the risks of an armed attack directed by the United States Government. To the repeated statements and pronouncements of members of the Congress and leading policy-makers of the United States, including those of the Secretary of State and of President Kennedy himself, and to the campaigns, biassed news reports and editorials of that country's Press, there is now added, with all due official standing, the joint resolution adopted by the United States Congress. This joint resolution, which embodies in a stark and unusual form the whole policy of aggression and subversion that has characterized the international conduct of the United States Government in relation to Cuba, constitutes an open, unfeigned and uninhibited proclamation of a line of aggression and force which the imperialist Government of the United States is pursuing against the Republic of Cuba in violation of the most elementary principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

"It is stated in the United States Congressional resolution that the United States is determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the régime in Cuba from extending by force its allegedly aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere; to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering

His Excellency U Thant,
Secretary-General of the United Nations,
New York.

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the security of the United States; and to work with the Organization of American States and the Cuban counter-revolutionaries in the subversion of our country.

"In the face of such pronouncements, which are made in the heat of the atmosphere of hysteria that pervades and dominates the United States political scene these days, and which are prompted by the cynical accumulation of lies, slanders and conflicting statements concerning Cuba's international conduct, the Council of Ministers wishes to make crystal clear to all the peoples of the world the position of the people and Revolutionary Government of Cuba on each of the questions raised in the course of this campaign that has been waged in order to prepare United States public opinion psychologically for the aggression now being planned. The Council of Ministers also wishes to state, in downright and unmistakable terms, the reply which the people and Revolutionary Government of Cuba return, calmly but with irrevocable and vehement determination, to the United States joint Congressional resolution.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba states once again that our country's foreign policy is based on the principles of non-intervention, on the right of nations to self-determination, on recognition of the sovereign equality of States, on freedom of trade, on the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and on the will to coexist peacefully with all the peoples of the world.

"Faithful to these canons of its international policy and to the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, Cuba constitutes no danger to the security of any country on our continent; it has entertained, and entertains, no aggressive intentions towards any such country, but instead the most absolute respect for the policy of 'non-intervention'; it is convinced that, as our own national history shows, every people has the sovereign right to chart its own historical course without hateful interference from outside. Far from having violated this international rule since the triumph of our Revolution, Cuba, on the contrary, has constantly fallen victim - with loss of life and treasure as the painful result - to intervention in its domestic policy and to acts of aggression mounted in the territory of other countries of the continent: not only in that of the United States but also in that of some Latin American countries whose

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Governments, disregarding the genuine feelings of their peoples, have joined with concealed or avowed complicity in the chorus of the United States Government's imperialist calumnies.

"The recent history of our continent - including, along the way, the humiliation of Playa Girón for which the President of the United States took official responsibility and for which use was made of the territory, and the obsequious co-operation of the Governments, of other countries of the continent - shows who have been the violators of the 'non-intervention' principle and of the obligation to respect the right of peoples to self-determination. Once again, let our doctrine of unlimited respect for the sovereignty of other American States be proclaimed in the face of the infamous false accusation implicit in the joint resolution of the United States Congress, and let the assurance be uttered that Cuba will never seek to extend by force any aggressive or subversive activities to any country in this hemisphere.

"This Council of Ministers, expressing a truth which only the wicked intent of the United States Government and Congress dares to ignore, also states that Cuba will never use its legitimate military defence resources for aggressive purposes such as to endanger the security of the United States.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, constant in its policy, has given proof of its peaceful intentions in its noble desire to carry out its plans for revolutionary and socialist development and construction. It has merely sought, as is its historical and legal right, to develop the life of the nation under the political and social system which its people, in exercise of its inalienable sovereignty, has chosen of its own free will. Far from having achieved this aim, Cuba has suffered constant interference in its internal affairs and the most shameless and intolerable aggression by the Government of the United States, which, in contempt of international law, has persisted in trying - vainly - to return Cuba to the condition of slavery, poverty, backwardness, exploitation and oppression in which it was sunk for half a century of fictitious sovereignty and political pseudo-democracy. It is not the Revolutionary Government of Cuba which is threatening the security of the United States and other countries of the hemisphere. It is the imperialist Government of the United States which is gravely endangering

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the security of Cuba, of the whole hemisphere and of the world, with its policy of aggression, intervention and provocation, carried on with the manifest complicity of certain Latin American régimes, despite the contrary policy of other Latin American Governments which support the principle of 'non-intervention' and the nations' right of self-determination, the living root of our common history and the immortal legacy of Bolívar, Juárez and Martí.

"While trying to represent Cuba as a threat to its security and a danger to other countries of the hemisphere, the Government of the United States has resorted to all possible means in order to overthrow the Revolutionary Government and destroy the political, economic and social order which the Cuban people is building with the use of the powers deriving from its right of self-determination, its independence and its sovereignty. The United States Government has employed every resort - from a campaign of slander, the abolition of the Cuban sugar quota for the United States market, diplomatic plotting, cutting off the supply of petroleum, burning sugar-cane fields, infiltration by the agents of the CIA, support for the counter-revolution, economic embargo, the murder of workers, peasants, teachers and militiamen, the clandestine introduction of explosives and arms into the country, systematic violation of its air space and territorial waters, piratical raids, sabotage of productive centres and violation of its own laws and of international law, to the organization, training, financing, direction and armed protection of the mercenary invaders of Playa Girón, not to mention the use of the Guantánamo naval base as a shelter for spies, agents provocateurs, terrorists, counter-revolutionaries and fugitives from Cuban justice.

The Government of the United States has not only perpetrated the most brutal economic aggression against our country, but has also waged a campaign of pressure in the capitals of all Latin American countries to make them break off relations with Cuba and thus isolate it from the nations which have economic and social problems similar to its own with which it has ties of blood and community of language and culture. The United States Government has promoted international conferences to condemn our country, forcibly

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brought about our expulsion from the Organization of American States and called, albeit to no effect, for diplomatic and economic sanctions, without heeding the fact that this policy seriously damaged the prestige of the Governments and wounded our peoples' anti-interventionist feelings, independent spirit and rooted faith in self-determination.

"The United States has harassed our trade in every corner of the world to which its influence extends, interfering with and sabotaging the sale of our products and promoting a real international boycott against our economy. It is a secret to no one that at this very moment the Government of the United States is heavily pressing countries such as the United Kingdom, Norway, Greece and others, which have made sea traffic an essential means of life, not to allow their ships to transport goods to Cuba - including food and medicaments - and that it has persuaded the Government of West Germany to impose the desired ban. This policy interferes with and subverts the rules of international trade and activities which are basic to the life of the countries concerned, while at the same time it has serious economic effects on the merchant shipping of other nations, which, in order to maintain its rights in international traffic, has had to compete with the heavily subsidized merchant fleet of the United States.

"The United States Secretary of State, taking advantage of the presence of heads of missions in the Assembly of the United Nations, has devoted whole weeks solely to furthering these plans against Cuba and to preparing the secret conference, a blatant conspiracy against our country, which he will have with the Latin American Foreign Ministers at no other place than the offices of the State Department in Washington. And he publicly announces the intention of the United States to make use of ships and aircraft belonging to Latin American countries for the purpose of keeping a watch on the coasts of Cuba.

"All this is supposed to be for the military protection of the United States and the political protection of the Latin American Governments from the peril of subversion, whereas in the Congress resolution itself it is stated that support will be given to the counter-revolutionaries; that is, policy of subversion against the Government of Cuba is officially proclaimed, as well as a policy of force giving us to understand that there will be military action also.

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"Which country practises subversion and which is the victim of it? Which is a threat to the security of the other? Which is threatened by this danger? The United States, which organized the invasion of April 1961? Guatemala, where the mercenaries were trained? Nicaragua, where they started from? Or Cuba, where they landed? How can the United States justify its actions, its threats and its policy in the eyes of the world?

"It is equally senseless to threaten a direct armed attack in the event of Cuba strengthening itself militarily to a degree which the United States takes upon itself to specify.

"We have not the least intention of rendering account to or of consulting the 'distinguished' members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives about the arms which we see fit to acquire and the steps to be taken to defend our country properly, just as we did not consult them or ask for their permission in regard to the type of arms and the measures we adopted to destroy the invaders at Playa Girón.

"Do we not have the aid of the rights which the rules and principles of international law recognize as the rights of every sovereign State throughout the world?

"We have never waived any sovereign prerogative in favour of the United States Congress, nor do we contemplate doing so.

"If the United States Government had no aggressive intentions against our country, it would not be interested in the quantity, quality or type of our armaments.

"If the United States was in a position to give to Cuba effective and satisfactory guarantees with respect to our territorial integrity, and if it abandoned its subversive and counter-revolutionary activities against our people, Cuba would not need to strengthen its defences; it would not even need an army; and we should be only too glad to use the resources required for that purpose in the economic and cultural development of our people.

"Cuba has always been willing to hold discussions with the United States Government and to carry out on its side any agreement reached, should it meet with an equal disposition, on the part of the United States to reduce tension and improve relations.

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"We publicly indicated our willingness to do so in April of last year, even after the invasion. The United States Government turned a deaf ear, and continued its hostile and aggressive policy. That, however, did not weaken the Revolution; on the contrary, aggression and harassment have only strengthened it. It cannot be smashed. All the gold of Washington and all Washington's power and long experience in subversion have been unable to alter this unchangeable reality. It would have been much more intelligent to realize this.

"Cuba would even have been able to compensate the United States citizens and interests affected by the revolutionary laws if it had not been the victim of economic aggression and if the United States Government had been willing to negotiate on a basis of respect for the wishes, dignity and sovereignty of the Cuban people.

"It was the United States Government that chose the path of pride, haughtiness and disregard for the rights of a small State - the course of hostility, economic aggression, subversion, terrorism, a trade blockade, indirect attack, political isolation and the raised dagger of direct aggression.

"The fruits of this dirty policy could not have been more disastrous for United States prestige. It is a case of Goliath defeated by David.

"The joint resolution of the United States Congress is a barefaced declaration of its intention to return to its baneful policy, and has such serious implications that the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba must address to the world this urgent warning of the danger, presented by this criminal threat, to the peace of the continent and the globe.

"Faced with this sad fact and the imminence of the danger we point out, Cuba also proclaims its right to defend its sovereignty. In order to defend its independence against imperialist aggression, Cuba has been obliged, with material and human resources which it would have liked to employ for its economic and social progress, to strengthen its military defence capacity and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, as is its duty, has taken and will take whatever steps are necessary for the strengthening of the country's military defences.

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"In the presence of this clear danger of direct armed aggression by the Government of the United States, and given the joint resolution of the United States Congress authorizing such aggression, the Cuban people is again making ready to combat it.

"We warn the Government of the United States, the United States Congress and the President that they have to do with a people which is not unprepared but which is alert, standing firm at its combat stations, and ready to defend our national independence and sovereignty house by house and inch by inch.

"The Cuban people is prepared to fight for its Revolution to the last man, firmly convinced as it is of the rightness of the great historic task which it is carrying out. The reasons which inspire the people of Cuba to perform this mighty task are so weighty that no threat, no act of aggression, however formidable, can break its fighting spirit or sap its resistance.

"The joint resolution of the United States Congress clearly reveals an irresponsibility in its leaders, an unprincipled policy, a reactionary and fascist conception of international relations, and symptoms of a degeneracy and decadence in system and in statesmen, that in no wise recall the greatness of those Americans who once drafted the historic Declaration of Philadelphia, and of the race from which the immortal words of the Gettysburg Speech proceeded. The United States politicians and the aggressive, imperialist groups of men who incited President Kennedy to embark on the Playa Girón adventure prepared by the previous Administration are the same who are now, once more, encouraging him to engage in a new aggressive adventure, and whose judgement has in no way been improved by the disaster which only yesterday involved him in failure and ridicule.

"The United States Congress forgets that the balance of power in the world has changed considerably and that today the imperialist countries can no longer, with impunity, repeat the policy of conquest, genocide and barbarity which Hitler, in his mad ambition for dominion, once attempted.

"They likewise discount the significance and sincerity of the expressions of solidarity which have been addressed to Cuba, both with respect to the creative work of its people and the drama and glory of its

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final struggle for independence. They affect not only to ignore the heroic decisions of the people of Cuba and its own capacity for defence, but to minimize the real and concrete fact of this solidarity, under-estimating the convincing force of the declaration made by the Government of the Soviet Union to the effect that it would furnish the necessary assistance to Cuba and to any other peaceful State in the event of aggression.

"This is because they confuse the value of a policy based on principles, such as that inspiring the statement of the Soviet Government, with the demagogic, purely blackmailing attitude of imperialist politicians who from the worst motives, and even for the purpose of gaining votes, provoke the United States Government to actions whereby aggression against our country will endanger world peace.

"The United States rulers also fail to realize that any new armed aggression against our nation would have consequences not confined to our territory alone, but would this time lead to a conflict which would have catastrophic results for the United States.

"In view of the joint resolution, the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba again reaffirms the peaceful intentions of the Cuban people and serves warning that neither our people nor the Cuban Government will be responsible for anything which may happen as a result of the aggression, against our nation, that has been authorized.

"It is the President of the United States, its Congress, the leaders of its imperialist policy, the military men in the Pentagon and the international conspirators of the CIA who will have to assume, before history and the world, the grave responsibility for anything which may happen as a result of the criminal aggression against Cuba, that they are advocating. On their drowsy consciences rests, today, the weight of this responsibility.

"The people of Cuba desires peaceful coexistence on this continent; but at the same time, alert and resolute, it is preparing to defend the independence of its country and to safeguard the integrity of its territory.

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"We therefore reply, to the threatening and insolent resolution, that the Cuban people must resist, that it is prepared to resist, that it will not be alone in its resistance, and that it is disposed to use, in its resistance, all the necessary measures.

"The United States Congress can make rules which apply within its own country; but so far as we are concerned, its resolution has no more value than that of a paper tossed into the waste-paper-basket, for the dustbin of history. Fatherland or death! We shall conquer!"

I request Your Excellency to arrange for this letter to be circulated, as an official document, to all Member States of the United Nations.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Dr. Mario García Inchástegui,
Ambassador, Permanent Representati
of Cuba to the United Nations
